A Short

HISTORY

OF

Standing Armies

IN

ENGLAND.

The Third Edition.

——————*Captiq; dolis, doniſq; coacti,*
Quos neq; Tydides, nec Lariſſæus Achilles,
Non anni domuere decem, non mille Carinæ.
Virg. Æn. ii.

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THE PREFACE.

THERE is nothing in which the generality of Mankind are so much mistaken, as when they talk of Government. The different Effects of it are obvious to every one, but few can trace its Causes. Most Men having indigested Ideas of the Nature of it, attribute all public Miscarriages to the corruption of Mankind. They think the whole Mass is infected, that it's impossible to make any Reformation, and so submit patiently to their Countries Calamities, or else share in the Spoil: whereas Complaints of this kind are as old as the World, and every Age has thought their own the worst. We have not only our own Experience, but the Example of all Times to prove that Men in the same Circumstances will do the same things, call them by what Names of distinction you please. A Government is a mere piece of Clockwork, and having such Springs and Wheels, must act after such a manner: and therefore the Art is to constitute it so, that it must move to the public Advantage. It is certain that every Man will act for his own Interest; and all wise Governments are founded upon that Principle: So that this whole Mystery is only to make the Interest of the Governors and Governed the same. In an Absolute Monarchy, where the whole Power is in one Man, his Interest will only be regarded: In an Aristocracy the Interest of a few; and in a free Government the Interest of every one. This would be the Case of England if som Abuses that have lately crept into our Constitution were remov'd. The Freedom of this Kingdom depends upon the Peoples chusing the House of Commons, who are a part of the Legislature, and have the sole power of giving Mony. Were this a true Representative, and free from external Force or private Bribery, nothing could pass there but what they thought was for the public Advantage. For their own Interest is so interwoven with the Peoples, that if they act for themselves (which every one of them will do as near as he can) they must act for the common Interest of England. And if a few among them should find it their Interest to abuse their Power, it will be the Interest of all the rest to punish them for it: and then our Government would act mechanically, and a Rogue will as naturally be hang'd, as a Clock strike twelve when the hour is com. This is the Fountain-head from whence the People expect all their Happiness, and

the redreſs of their Grievances: and if we can preſerve them free from Corruption, they will take care to keep every body elſe ſo. Our Conſtitution ſeems to have provided for it, by never ſuffering the King (till Charles *the Second's Reign) to have a Mercenary Army to frighten them into a Compliance, nor Places or Revenues great enough to bribe them into it. The Places in the King's Gift were but few, and moſt of them Patent Places for Life, and the reſt great Offices of State enjoy'd by ſingle Perſons, which ſeldom fell to the ſhare of the Commons, ſuch as the Lord Chancellor, Lord Treaſurer, Privy-Seal, Lord High-Admiral,* &c. *And when theſe Offices were poſſeſs'd by the Lords, the Commons were ſevere Inquiſitors into their Actions. Thus the Government of* England *continued from the time that the* Romans *quitted the Iſland, to the time of* Charles *the Firſt, who was the firſt I have read of that made an Oppoſition to himſelf in the Houſe of Commons the road to Preferment; of which the Earl of* Strafford *and* Noy *were the moſt remarkable Inſtances, who from great Patriots became the chief Aſſertors of Deſpotic Power. But this ſerv'd only to exaſperat the reſt; for he had not Places enough for all that expected them; nor Mony enough to bribe them. 'Tis true, he rais'd great Sums of Mony upon the People; but it being without Authority of Parliament, and having no Army to back him, it met with ſuch Difficulties in the raiſing, that it did him little good, and ended at laſt in his ruin, tho by the means of a long and miſerable War, which brought us from one Tyranny to another; for the Army had got all things into their Power, and govern'd the Nation by a Council of War, which made all Parties join in calling in* Charles *the Second: So that he came in with the general applauſe of the People, who in a kind fit gave him a vaſt Revenue for Life. By this he was enabled to raiſe an Army, and bribe the Parliament, which he did to the purpoſe: But being a luxurious Prince, he could not part with great Sums at once. He only fed them from hand to mouth: So that they found it as neceſſary to keep him in a conſtant dependence upon them, as they had upon him. They knew he would give them ready Mony no longer than he had abſolute neceſſity for them, and he had not Places enough in his diſpoſal to ſecure a Majority in the Houſe: for in thoſe early days the Art was not found out of ſplitting and multiplying Places, as inſtead of a Lord Tr——r, to have Five Lords of the Tr——ry; inſtead of a Lord Ad—l, to have Seven Lords of the Ad——ty; to have Seven Commiſſioners of the C——ms; Nine of the Ex——ze; Fourteen of the N——vy Office; Ten of the St—mp Office; Eight of the Pr——ze Office; Sixteen of the Commiſſioners of Tr——de; Two of the P——ſt Office; Four of the Tranſports; Four for Hackney Coaches; Four for Wine-Licenſes; Four for the Victualling-Office; and multitudes of other Offices which are endleſs to enumerate. I believe the Gentlemen who have the good Fortune to be in ſom of theſe Imployments, will think I complement them, if I ſhould ſay they have not bin better executed ſince they were in ſo many hands,*

hands, than when in fewer: and I muſt confeſs, I ſee no reaſon why they may not be made twice as many, and ſo ad infinitum, *unleſs the number be aſcertain'd by Parliament: and what danger this may be to our Conſtitution, I think of with Horror. For if in Ages to com they ſhould be all given to Parliament-Men, what will becom of our ſo much boaſted Liberty? What ſhall be don when the Criminal becoms the Judg, and the Malefactors are left to try themſelves? We may be ſure their common danger will unite them, and they will all ſtand by one another. I do not ſpeak this by gueſs; for I have read of a Country where there was a conſtant Series of miſmanagement for many years together, and yet no body was puniſh'd: and even in our own Country I believe, ſom Men now alive can remember the time, when if the then King had but twenty more Places in his diſpoſal, or diſpoſed of thoſe he had to the beſt advantage, the Liberty of* England *had bin at an end. I would not be underſtood quite to exclude Parliament-men from having Places; for a Man may ſerve his Country in two Capacities: but I would not have it to be a Qualification for a Place; becauſe a poor Borough thinks a Man fit to repreſent them, that therfore he muſt be a Stateſman, a Lawyer, a Soldier, an Admiral, and what not? If this method ſhould be taken in a future Reign, the People muſt not expect to ſee Men of Ability or Integrity in any Places, while they hold them by no other tenure than the diſſervice they do their Country in the Houſe of Commons, and are ſure to be turn'd out upon every prevalent Faction on the other ſide. They muſt then never expect to ſee the Houſe of Commons act vigorouſly for the Intereſt either of King or People; but ſom will ſervilely comply with the Court to keep their Places, others will oppoſe it as unreaſonably to get them: and thoſe Gentlemen whoſe Deſigns are for their Countries Intereſt, will grow weary of the beſt Form of Government in the World, thinking by miſtake the Fault is in our Conſtitution. I have heard of a Country, where the Diſputes about Offices to the value of thirty thouſand Pounds* per Annum, *have made ſix Millions ineffectual; what by ſom Mens proſtitute compliance, and others openly clogging the Wheels, it has caus'd Want and Neceſſity in all kinds of Men, Bribery, Treachery, Profaneneſs, Atheiſm, Prodigality, Luxury, and all the Vices that attend a remiſs and corrupt Adminiſtration, and a univerſal neglect of the Public. It is natural to run from one extreme to another; and this Policy will at laſt turn upon any Court that uſes it: for if they ſhould be reſolv'd to give all Offices to Parliament-men, the People will think themſelves under a neceſſity to obtain a Law that they ſhall give none, which has bin more than once attemted in our own time. Indeed, tho there may be no great inconvenience in ſuffering a few Men that have Places to be in that Houſe, ſuch as com in naturally, without any indirect Means, yet it will be fatal to us to have many: for all wiſe Governments indeavor, as much as poſſible, to keep the Legiſlative and Executive Parts aſunder, that they may be a check upon one another. Our Government truſts the King with no part of the Legiſlative*

but a Negative Voice, which is absolutely necessary to preserve the Executive. One part of the Duty of the House of Commons is to punish Offenders, and redress the Grievances occasion'd by the Executive part of the Government; and how can that be don if they should happen to be the same Persons, unless they would be public spirited enough to hang or drown themselves?

But in my opinion, in another thing of no less importance, we deviated in Charles the Second's time from our Constitution: for tho we were in a Capacity of punishing Offenders, yet we did not know legally who they were. The Law has bin always very tender of the Person of the King, and therfore has dispos'd the Executive part of the Government in such proper Channels, that whatsoever lesser Excesses are committed, they are not imputed to him, but his Ministers are accountable for them: His Great Seal is kept by his Chancellor, his Revenue by his Treasurer, his Laws are executed by his Judges, his Fleet is manag'd by his Lord High Admiral, who are all accountable for their Misbehavior. Formerly all Matters of State and Discretion were debated and resolv'd in the Privy Council, where every Man subscrib'd his Opinion, and was answerable for it. The late King Charles was the first who broke this most excellent part of our Constitution, by settling a Cabal or Cabinet Council, where all Matters of Consequence were debated and resolv'd, and then brought to the Privy Council to be confirm'd. The first footsteps we have of this Council in any European Government were in Charles the Ninth's time of France, when resolving to massacre the Protestants, he durst not trust his Council with it, but chose a few Men whom he call'd his Cabinet Council: and considering what a Genealogy it had, 'tis no wonder it has bin so fatal both to King and People. To the King: for wheras our Constitution has provided Ministers in the several parts of the Government to answer for Miscarriages, and to skreen him from the hatred of the People; this on the contrary protects the Ministers, and exposes the King to all the Complaints of his Subjects. And 'tis as dangerous to the People: for whatever Miscarriages there are, no body can be punish'd for them; for they justify themselves by a Sign Manual, or perhaps a privat Direction from the King: and then we have run it so far, that we can't follow it. The Consequence of this must be continual Heart-burnings between King and People; and no one can see the Event.

A ſhort Hiſtory of Standing Armies in England.

IF any Man doubts whether a Standing Army is Slavery, Popery, Mahometiſm, Paganiſm, Atheiſm, or any thing which they pleaſe, let him read,

Firſt, The Story of *Matho* and *Spendius* at *Carthage*, and the *Mamalukes* of *Egypt*.

Secondly, The Hiſtorys of *Strada* and *Bentivolio*, where he will find what work nine thouſand *Spaniards* made in the 17 *Provinces*, tho the Country was full of fortified Towns, poſſeſſed by the Low Country Lords, and they had aſſiſtance from *Germany*, *England*, and *France*.

Thirdly, The Hiſtory of *Philip de Commines*, where he will find that *Lewis* the 11*th* inſlaved the vaſt Country of *France* with 25000 Men, and that the raiſing 500 Horſe by *Philip* of *Burgundy* ſirnamed the Good, was the ruin of thoſe Provinces.

Fourthly, *Ludlow*'s *Memoirs*, where he will find that an Army raiſed to defend our Liberties, made Footballs of that Parliament, at whoſe Actions all *Europe* ſtood amazed, and in a few Years ſet up ten ſeveral ſorts of Government contrary to the Genius of the whole Nation, and the opinion of half their own Body: ſuch is the influence of a General over an Army, that he can make them act like a piece of Mechaniſm, whatever their privat Opinions are.

Laſtly, Let him read the *Arguments againſt a Standing Army*, the *Diſcourſe concerning Militias*, the *Militia Reform'd*, and the Anſwers to them: but leſt all this ſhould not ſatisfy him, I will here give a ſhort Hiſtory of Standing Armies in *England*, I will trace this Myſtery of Iniquity from the beginning, and ſhow the ſeveral ſteps by which it has crept upon us.

The firſt footſteps I find of a Standing Army in *England* ſince the *Romans* left the Iſland, were in *Richard* the 2*d*'s time, who raiſed four thouſand Archers in *Cheſhire*, and ſuffered them to plunder, live upon free Quarter, beat, wound, raviſh and kill wherever they went; and afterwards he called a Parliament, encompaſſed them with his Archers, forced them to give up the whole Power of Parliaments, and make it Treaſon to endeavour to repeal any of the Arbitrary Conſtitutions that were then made: but being afterwards oblig'd to go to *Ireland* to ſuppreſs a Rebellion there, the People took advantage of it, and dethron'd him.

The Nation had ſuch a Specimen in this Reign of a Standing Army, that I don't find any King from him to *Charles* the 1*ſt*, that attemted keeping up any Forces in time of Peace, except the Yeomen of the Guard, who were conſtituted by *Henry* the 7*th*: and tho there were ſeveral Armies raiſed in that time for *French*, *Scotch*, *Iriſh*, other foren and domeſtic Wars; yet they were conſtantly diſbanded as ſoon as the occaſion was over. And in all the Wars of *York* and *Lancaſter*, whatever Party prevail'd, we don't find they ever attemted to keep up a Standing Army. Such was the virtue of thoſe times, that they would rather run the hazard of forfeiting their Heads and Eſtates to the rage of the oppoſite Party, than certainly inſlave their Country, tho they themſelves were to be the Tyrants.

Nor would they ſuffer our Kings to keep up an Army in *Ireland*, tho there were frequent Rebellions there, and by that means their Subjection very precarious; as well knowing they would be in *England* when called for.. In the firſt three hundred Years that the *Engliſh* had poſſeſſion of that Country, there were no Armies there but in times of War. The firſt Force that was eſtabliſh'd was in the 14*th* of *Edward* the fourth, when 120 Archers on Horſeback, 40 Horſemen, and 40 Pages were eſtabliſh'd by Parliament there; which ſix years after were reduc'd to 80 Archers, and 20 Spearmen on Horſeback. Afterwards in *Henry* the Eighth's time, in the year 1535, the Army in *Ireland* was 300;

and

and in 1543, they were increaſed to 380 Horſe, and 160 Foot, which was the Eſtabliſhment then. I ſpeak this of times of Peace: for when the *Iriſh* were in Rebellion, which was very frequent, the Armies were much more conſiderable. In Queen *Mary*'s time the Standing Forces were about 1200. In moſt of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign the *Iriſh* were in open Rebellion; but when they were all ſuppreſs'd, the Army eſtabliſh'd was between 1500 and 2000: about which number they continu'd till the Army rais'd by *Strafford* the 15*th* of *Charles* the 1*ſt*.

In the Year 1602 dy'd Queen *Elizabeth*, and with her all the Virtue of the *Plantagenets*, and the *Tudors*. She made the *Engliſh* Glory ſound thro the whole Earth: She firſt taught her Country the advantages of Trade; ſet bounds to the Ambition of *France* and *Spain*; aſſiſted the *Dutch*, but would neither permit them or *France* to build any great Ships; kept the Keys of the Rivers *Maes* and *Scheld* in her own hands; and died with an uncontrol'd Dominion of the Seas, and Arbitreſs of Chriſtendom. All this ſhe did with a Revenue not exceding 300000 pounds *per annum*; and had but inconſiderable Taxes from her People.

No ſooner was King *James* come to the Crown, but all the Reputation we had acquir'd in her glorious Reign was eclips'd, and we became the ſcorn of all Nations about us, contemned even by that State we had created, who inſulted us at Sea, ſeiz'd *Amboyna*, *Poleroon*, *Seran*, and other Places in the *Eaſt-Indies*, by which they ingroſs'd that moſt profitable Trade of Spices; fiſh'd upon our Coaſts without paying the cuſtomary Tribute, and at the ſame time prevail'd with the King to deliver up the Cautionary Towns of *Brill*, *Ramekins*, and *Fluſhing*, for a very ſmall Conſideration, tho there were near ſix Millions Arrears. He ſquandred the public Treaſure, diſcountenanc'd all the great Men who were rais'd in the glorious Reign of his Predeceſſor, cut off Sir *Walter Raleigh*'s Head, advanc'd Favorites of his own, Men of no Merit, to the higheſt Preferment; and to maintain their Profuſeneſs, he granted them Monopolies, infinit Projects, proſtituted Honors for Mony, rais'd Benevolences and Loans without Authority of Parliament. And when theſe Grievances were complain'd of there, he committed many of the principal Members without Bail or Mainpriſe, as he did afterwards for preſuming to addreſs him againſt the *Spaniſh* Match. He pardon'd the Earl of *Somerſet* and his Wife for Sir *Thomas Overbury*'s Murder, after he had imprecated all the Curſes of Heaven upon himſelf and his Poſterity; and it was generally thought, becauſe the Earl was Acceſſary to the poiſoning Prince *Henry*. He permitted his Son-in-law to be ejected out of his Principalities, and the Proteſtant Intereſt to be run down in *Germany* and *France*, while he was bubled nine years together with the hopes of the *Spaniſh* Match, and a great Fortune. Afterwards he made a diſhonorable Treaty of Marriage with *France*, giving the Papiſts Liberty of Conſcience: and indeed, as he often declared, he was no otherwiſe an Enemy to Popery, than for their depoſing of Kings, and King-killing Doctrin. In *Ireland* he gave them all the Incouragement he durſt; which Policy has bin follow'd by all his Succeſſors ſince to this preſent Reign, and has ſerv'd 'em to two purpoſes: One is, by this they have had a pretence to keep up Standing Armies there to aw the Natives; and the other, that they might make uſe of the Natives againſt their Engliſh Subjects. In this Reign that ridiculous Doctrin of Kings being *Jure Divino* was coin'd, never before heard of even in the Eaſtern Tyrannies. The other parts of his Government had ſuch a mixture of *Scharamuchi* and *Harlequin*, that they ought not to be ſpoken of ſeriouſly, as Proclamations upon every trifle, ſom againſt talking of News; Letters to the Parliament, telling them he was an old and wiſe King; that State Affairs were above their reach, and therfore they muſt not meddle with them, and ſuch like Trumpery. But our happineſs was, that this Prince was a great Coward, and hated the ſight of a Soldier; ſo that he could not do much againſt us by open force. At laſt he died (as many have believed) by Poiſon, to make room for his Son *Charles* the Firſt.

This King was a great Bigot, which made him

him the Darling of the Clergy; but having no great reach of his own, and being govern'd by the Priests (who have bin always unfortunat when they have meddled with Politics) with a true Ecclesiastic Fury he drove on to the destruction of all the Liberties of *England*. This King's whole Reign was one continued Act against the Laws. He dissolved his first Parliament for presuming to inquire into his Father's Death, tho he lost a great Sum of Mony by it, which they had voted him: He entred at the same time into a War with *France* and *Spain*, upon the privat Piques of *Buckingham*, who managed them to the eternal Dishonor and Reproach of the *English* Nation; witness the ridiculous Enterprizes upon *Cadiz* and the Isle of *Rhee*. He deliver'd *Pennington*'s Fleet into the *French* hands, betrayed the poor *Rochellers*, and suffered the Protestant Interest in *France* to be quite extirpated. He raised Loans, Excises, Coat and Conduct-mony, Tunnage and Poundage, Knighthood and Ship-mony, without Authority of Parliament; impos'd new Oaths on the Subjects, to discover the value of their Estates; imprisoned great numbers of the most considerable Gentry and Merchants for not paying his Arbitrary Taxes; som he sent beyond Sea, and the poorer sort he prest for Soldiers. He kept Soldiers upon free Quarter, and executed Martial Law upon them. He granted Monopolies without number, and broke the bounds of the Forests. He erected Arbitrary Courts, and inlarged others, as the High Commission-Court, the Star-Chamber, Court of Honor, Court of Requests, *&c.* and unspeakable Oppressions were committed in them, even to Men of the first Quality. He commanded the Earl of *Bristol* and Bishop of *Lincoln* not to com to Parliament; committed and prosecuted a great many of the most eminent Members of the House of Commons for what they did there, som for no cause at all, and would not let them have the benefit of *Habeas Corpus*; suspended and confined Arch-Bishop *Abbot*, because he would not license a Sermon that asserted Despotic Power, whatever other cause was pretended. He suspended the Bishop of *Gloucester*, for refusing to swear never to consent to alter the Government of the Church; supported all his Arbitrary Ministers against the Parliament, telling them he wondred at the foolish Impudence of any one to think he would part with the meanest of his Servants upon their account: and indeed in his Speeches, or rather Menaces, he treated them like his Footmen, calling them Undutiful, Seditious, and Vipers. He brought unheard of Innovations into the Church; preferred Men of Arbitrary Principles, and inclinable to Popery, especially those Firebrands, *Laud*, *Mountague*, and *Manwaring*, one of whom had bin complain'd of in Parliament, another impeach'd for advancing Popery, and the third condemned in the House of Lords. He dispensed with the Laws against Papists, and both incouraged and prefer'd them. He called no Parliament for twelve years together, and in that time governed as arbitrarily as the Grand Seignior. He abetted the *Irish* Massacre, as appears by their producing a Commission under the Great Seal of *Scotland*, by the Letter of *Charles* the 2*d* in favor of the Marquis of *Antrim*, by his stopping the Succors that the Parliament sent to reduce *Ireland* six months under the Walls of *Chester*, by his entring into a Treaty with the Rebels after he had ingaged his Faith to the Parliament to the contrary, and bringing over many thousands of them to fight against his People. It is endless to enumerat all the Oppressions of his Reign; but having no Army to support him, his Tyranny was precarious, and at last his Ruin. Tho he extorted great Sums from the People, yet it was with so much difficulty, that it did him little good. Besides, he spent so much in foolish Wars and Expeditions, that he was always behind-hand; yet he often attemted to raise an Army.

Upon pretence of the *Spanish* and *French* Wars he rais'd many thousand Men, who liv'd upon free Quarter, and rob'd and destroy'd wherever they came. But being unsuccessful in his Wars abroad, and prest by the Clamors of the People at home, he was forc'd to disband 'em. In 1627 he sent over 30000 *l.* to *Holland* to raise 3000 *German* Horse, to force his arbitrary Taxes; but this matter taking wind, and being examin'd by the Parliament, Orders

were sent to countermand them. In the 15*th* year of his Reign he gave a Commission to *Strafford* to raise 8000 *Irish* to be brought into *England*: but before they could get hither, the *Scots* were in Arms for the like Oppressions, and marched into *Northumberland*, which forcing him to call a Parliament, prevented that design, and so that Army was disbanded. Soon after he rais'd an Army in *England* to oppose the *Scots*, and tamper'd with them to march to *London*, and dissolve the Parliament: but this Army being composed for the most part of the Militia, and the matter being communicated to the House, who immediatly fell on the Officers that were Members, as *Ashburnham*, *Wilmot*, *Pollard*, &c. the design came to nothing. After this there was a Pacification between the King and the *Scots*; and in pursuance of it both Armies were disbanded. Then he went to *Scotland*, and indeavor'd to prevail with them to invade *England*; but that not doing, he sent a Message to the Parliament, desiring their concurrence in the raising 3000 *Irish* to be lent to the King of *Spain*; to which the Parliament refused to consent, believing he would make another use of them. When he came back to *London*, he pick'd out 3 or 400 dissolute Fellows out of Taverns, gaming and brothel-Houses, kept a Table for them; and with this goodly Guard all arm'd, he enter'd the House of Commons, sat down in the Speaker's Chair, demanding the delivery of 5 Members: But the Citizens coming down by Land and Water with Musquets upon their Shoulders to defend the Parliament, he attemted no further. This so inrag'd the House, that they chose a Guard to defend themselves against future Insules, and the King soon after left *London*. Som time before this began the *Irish* Rebellion, where the *Irish* pretended the King's Authority, and shew'd the Great Seal to justify themselves; which, whether true or false, raised such a jealousy in the People, that he was forced to consent to leave the management of that War to the Parliament: yet he afterwards sent a Message to them, telling them he would go to *Ireland* in Person; and acquainted them, that he had issued out Commissions for raising 2000 Foot and 200 Horse in *Cheshire* for his Guard, which they protested against, and prevented it. By this we may see what Force was thought sufficient in his Reign to inslave the Nation, and the frequent Attemts to get it.

Then the Civil Wars broke out between him and his People, in which many bloody Battels were fought; two of the most considerable were those of *Newbury* and *Naseby*, both won by new Soldiers, the first by the *London* Militia, and the latter by an unexperienc'd Army, which the King used to call in derision the *New Nodel*. And som years after the Battel of *Worcester* was in a great measure won by the Country Militia, for which *Cromwel* discharged them with anger and contemt, as knowing them Instruments unfit to promote his Tyrannical Designs. At last by the fate of the War the King became a Prisoner, and the Parliament treated with him while in that condition, and at the same time voted that som part of the Army should be disbanded, and others sent to *Ireland* to reduce that Kingdom; upon which the Army chose Agitators among themselves, who presented a Petition to both Houses, that they would proceed to settle the Affairs of the Kingdom, and declare that no part of the Army should be disbanded till that was don. But finding their Petition resented, they sent and seized the King's Person from the Parliaments Commissioners, drew up a Charge of High Treason against eleven principal Members for indeavoring to disband the Army, entred into a privat Treaty with the King: but he not complying with their demands, they seized *London*; and notwithstanding the Parliament had voted the King's Concessions a ground for a future Settlement, they resolved to put him to Death, and in order therto purged the House, as they called it, that is, placed Guards upon them, and excluded all Members that were for agreeing with the King; and then they cut off his Head.

After this they let the Parliament govern for five years, who made their Name famous thro the whole Earth, conquered their Enemies in *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*; reduced the Kingdom of *Portugal* to their own Terms; recovered our Reputation at Sea;

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overcame the *Dutch* in ſeveral famous Battels; ſecured our Trade, and managed the public Expences with ſo much frugality, that no Eſtates were gained by privat Men upon the public Miſeries; and at laſt were paſſing an Act for their own Diſſolution, and ſettling the Nation in a free and impartial Commonwealth; of which the Army being afraid, thought it neceſſary to diſſolve them, and accordingly *Cromwel* next day called two Files of Muſqueteers into the Houſe, and pulled the Speaker out of the Chair, behaving himſelf like a Madman, vilifying the Members, and calling one a Whoremaſter, another a Drunkard, bidding the Soldiers take away that fools bauble the Mace; and ſo good night to the Parliament.

When they had don this Act of Violence, the Council of Officers ſet up a new form of Government, and choſe a certain number of Perſons out of every County and City of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland:* and theſe they inveſted with the Supreme Power, but ſoon after expelled them, and then *Cromwel* ſet up himſelf, and framed a new Inſtrument of Government by a Protector and a Houſe of Commons, in purſuance of which he called a Parliament. But they not anſwering his Expectations, he excluded all that would not ſubſcribe his Inſtrument; and thoſe that remained, not proving for his purpoſe neither, he diſſolved them with a great deal of opprobrious Language. He then divided *England* into ſeveral Diſtricts or Diviſions, and placed Major Generals or Intendents over them, who governed like ſo many Baſhaws, decimating the Cavaliers, and raiſing Taxes at their pleaſure. Then forſooth he had a mind to make himſelf King, and called another Parliament to that purpoſe, after his uſual manner ſecluding ſuch Members as he did not like. To this Aſſembly he offered another Inſtrument of Government, which was by a Repreſentative of the People, a 2*d* Houſe compoſed of 70 Members in the nature of a Houſe of Lords, and a ſingle Perſon; and left a Blank for what name he ſhould be called, which this worthy Aſſembly filled up with that of King, addreſſed to *Cromwel* that he would be pleaſed to accept it, and gave him power to nominat the Members of the Other Houſe. This the great Officers of the Army reſented, for it deſtroyed all their hopes of being Tyrants in their turn, and therefore addreſſed the Parliament againſt the Power and Government of a King, which made *Cromwel* decline that Title, and content himſelf with a greater Power under the name of Protector. Afterwards he named the *Other Houſe*, as it was called, for the moſt part out of the Officers of the Army; but even this Parliament not pleaſing him, he diſſolved them in a fury, and govern'd the Nation without any Parliament at all till he died.

After his death the Army ſet up his Son *Richard*, who called a new Parliament; but their proceedings being not agreable to the humor of the Soldiery, they forced the Protector to diſſolve them: then they depoſed him, and took the Power into their own hands; but being unable to weild it, they reſtored the Commonwealth, and ſoon after expelled them again, becauſe they would not ſettle the Military Sword independent of the Civil: then they governed the Nation by a Council of War at *Wallingford*-Houſe, and choſe a Committee of Safety for the executive part of the Government; but that Whim laſted but a little time before they choſe Conſervators of Liberty; and that not doing neither, they agreed that every Regiment ſhould chooſe two Repreſentatives, and this worthy Council ſhould ſettle the Nation; when they met, ſometimes they were for calling a new Parliament, ſometimes for reſtoring the old, which was at laſt don. By this means all things fell into Confuſion, which gave *Monk* an opportunity of marching into *England*, where he acted his part ſo dexterouſly, that he reſtor'd the King with part of that Army which had cut off his Father's Head.

This is a true and lively Example of a Government with an Army; an Army that was raiſed in the cauſe, and for the ſake of Liberty; compoſed for the moſt part of Men of Religion and Sobriety. If this Army could commit ſuch Violences upon a Parliament always ſucceſsful, that had acquired ſo much Reputation both at home and abroad, at a time when the whole People were trained in Arms, and the Pulſe of the Nation beat

high for Liberty; what are we to expect if in a future Age an ambitious Prince should arise with a dissolute and debauched Army, a flattering Clergy, a prostitute Ministry, a Bankrupt House of L——ds, a Pensioner House of C——ns, and a slavish and corrupted Nation?

By this means came in *Charles* the Second, a luxurious and effeminat Prince, a deep Dissembler, and if not a Papist himself, yet a great favorer of them: but the People had suffered so much from the Army, that he was received with the utmost Joy and Transport. The Parliament in the Honymoon passed what Laws he pleased, gave him a vast Revenue for life, being three times as much as any of his Predecessors ever enjoyed, and several Millions besides to be spent in his Pleasures. This made him conceive vaster hopes of Arbitrary Power than any that went before him; and in order to it he debauched and enervated the whole Kingdom: His Court was a scene of Adulteries, Drunkenness, and Irreligion, appearing more like Stews, or the Feasts of *Bacchus*, than the Family of a Chief Magistrate: and in a little time the Contagion spread thro the whole Nation, that it was out of the fashion not to be leud, and scandalous not to be a public Enemy: which has bin the occasion of all the Miseries that have since happened, and I am afraid will not be extinguished but by our ruin. He was no sooner warm in his Seat, but he rejected an advantageous Treaty of Commerce which *Oliver* made with *France*, as don by a Usurper; suffer'd the *French* to lay Impositions upon all our Goods, which amounted to a Prohibition, insomuch that they got a Million a year from us in the overbalance of Trade. He sold that important Fortress of *Dunkirk*, let the *French* seize St. *Christophers* and other places in North *America*.

He began a foolish and unjust War with the *Dutch*; and tho the Parliament gave him vast Sums to maintain it, yet he spent so much upon his Vices, that they got great advantages of us, and burnt our Fleet at *Chatham*. At last he made as dishonorable a Peace with them, as he had don a War; a perpetual Reproach to our Country, that our Reputation at Sea should be sunk to so low an ebb as to be baffled by that Nation, who but a few years before had sent a blank Paper to the Parliament, to prescribe to them what Laws they pleased. During this War the City of *London* was fired, not without violent suspicions that the Firebals were prepared at *Whitehall*. Soon after this he entred into the Triple Alliance to oppose the growing greatness of *France*, and received a great Sum from the Parliament to maintain it, which he made use of to break the same League; sent Mr. *Coventry* to *Sweden* to dissolve it; and entred into a strict Alliance with *France*, which was sealed with his Sister's blood. In conjunction with them he made a new War upon *Holland*, to extirpate Liberty and the Protestant Religion; but knowing the Parliament were averse to the War, and would not support him in it, he attemted before any War declared to seize their *Smyrna* Fleet, shut up the Exchequer, and became so mean as to be a Pensioner to *France*, from whence his Predecessors with Swords in their hands had so often exacted Tribute. He not only suffered, but assisted them to arrive at that pitch of Greatness, which all *Europe* since has sufficiently felt and lamented. He sent over ten thousand Men to assist in subduing *Flanders* and *Germany*, by whose help they did several considerable Actions. He sent them Timber, Seamen, Ship-Carpenters, and Models, contrary to the Policy of all Nations; which rais'd their Naval Force to a degree almost equal to our own: and for their exercise, he suffered them to take multitudes of *English* Ships by their Privateers, without so much as demanding satisfaction.

During this War he issued out a Declaration suspending the Penal Laws, which appears to be designed in favor of the Papists, by his directing a Bill afterwards to be stolen away out of the House of Lords, for indulging Protestant Dissenters, whom he persecuted violently most of his Reign, while he both countenanced and preferred Papists, broke the Act of Settlement in *Ireland*, restored them to their Estates, issued forth a Proclamation giving the Papists liberty to inhabit in Corporations, and married the Duke of *York* not only

only to a Papiſt, but one in the *French* Intereſt, notwithſtanding the repeated Addreſſes of the Parliament to the contrary. It was in this Reign that that curſed and deteſtable Policy was much improved of bribing Parliaments, by diſtributing all the great Imployments in *England* among them, and ſupplying the want of places with Grants of Lands and Mony. No Man could be preferred to any Imployment in Church or State, till he had declared himſelf an open Enemy to our Conſtitution, by aſſerting Deſpotic Power under that nonſenſical Phraſe of *Paſſive Obedience*, which was more preach'd up than all the Laws of God and Man. The Helliſh Popiſh Plot was ſtifled, proved ſince too true by fatal experience; and in the room of it Proteſtant ones were forged, and Men trapan'd into others, as the Meal-Tub, *Fitz Harris*'s, the *Rye-Houſe*, *Newmarket*, and *Black-Heath* Plots: and by theſe Pretences, and the help of packt Judges and Juries, they butchered ſom of the beſt Men in *England*, ſet immoderat Fines upon others, gave probable ſuſpicion of cutting the Lord *Eſſex*'s Throat: and to finiſh our deſtruction, they took away the Charters, as faſt as they were able, of all the Corporations in *England*, that would not chooſe the Members preſcribed them.

But he durſt not have dreamt of all theſe Violations if he had not had an Army to juſtify them. He had thoughts at firſt of keeping up the Parliament-Army, which was ſeveral times in debate. But Chancellor *Hyde* prevailed upon him by this Argument, that they were a Body of Men that had cut off his Father's Head; that they had ſet up and pulled down ten ſeveral ſorts of Government; and that it might be his own turn next. So that his fears prevailing over his ambition, he conſented to diſband them; but ſoon found how vain and abortive a thing Arbitrary Power would prove without an Army. He therfore try'd all ways to get one; and firſt he attemted it in *Scotland*, and by means of the Duke of *Lauderdale*, got an Act paſſed there, wherby the Kingdom of *Scotland* was obliged to raiſe 20000 Foot and 2000 Horſe at his Majeſty's Call, to march into any part of his Dominions; and this Law is in being at this day. Much about the ſame time he rais'd Guards in *England* (a thing unheard of before in our *Engliſh* Conſtitution) and by degrees increas'd them, till they became a formidable Army; for firſt they were but very few, but by adding inſenſibly more Men to a Troop or Company, and then more Troops or Companies to a Regiment, before the ſecond *Dutch* War he had multiplied them to near 5000 Men. He then began that War in conjunction with *France*, and the Parliament gave him two Millions and a half to maintain it, with part of which Mony he rais'd about 12000 Men, which were called the *Black-Heath Army* (appointing Marſhal *Schomberg* to be their General, and *Fitz Gerald* an *Iriſh* Papiſt their Lieutenant-General) and pretended he rais'd them to attack *Holland*; but inſtead of uſing them to that purpoſe, he kept them encamped upon *Black-Heath*, hovering over the City of *London*, which put both the Parliament and City in ſuch confuſion, that the King was forced at laſt to diſband them. But there were ſeveral accidents contributed to it: Firſt the ill ſucceſs he had in the War with the *Duch*, ſuch Gallantries being not to be attemted but in the higheſt Raptures of Fortune: Next, the never to be forgotten Generoſity of that great Man General *Schomberg*, whoſe mighty Genius ſcorn'd ſo ignoble an Action as to put Chains upon a free People; and laſt of all, the Army themſelves mutini'd for want of pay: which added to the ill Humors that were then in the Nation, made the King willing to diſband them. But at the ſame time, contrary to the Articles of Peace with the *Dutch*, he continu'd ten thouſand Men in the *French* Service, for the moſt part under Popiſh Officers, to be ſeaſon'd there in ſlaviſh Principles, that they might be ready to execute any Commands when they were ſent for over. The Parliament never met, but they addreſs'd the King to recal theſe Forces out of *France*, and diſband them; and ſeveral times prepar'd Bills to that purpoſe, which the King always prevented by a Prorogation; but

but at last was prevail'd upon to issue forth a Proclamation to recal them, yet at the same time supply'd them with Recruits, incourag'd som to go voluntarily into that Service, and press'd, imprison'd, and carri'd over others by main Force: besides, he only disbanded the new rais'd Regiments, and not all them neither, for he kept up in *England* five thousand eight hundred and ninety privat Men, besides Officers, which was his Establishment in 1673.

The King having two great designs to carry on together, *viz.* Popery and Arbitrary Power, thought this Force not enough to do his Business effectually; and therefore cast about how to get a new Army, and took the most plausible way, which was pretending to enter into a War with *France*; and to that purpose sent Mr. *Thyn* to *Holland*, who made a strict League with the States: and immediatly upon it the King call'd the Parliament, who gave him 1200000 Pounds to enter into an actual War, with which Mony he rais'd an Army of between twenty and thirty thousand Men within less than forty Days, and sent part of them to *Flanders*. At the same time he continued his Forces in *France*, and took a Sum of Mony from that King to assist him in making a privat Peace with *Holland*: So that instead of a War with *France*, the Parliament had given a great Sum to raise an Army to enslave themselves. But it happen'd about this time that the Popish Plot broke out, which put the Nation into such a Ferment, that there was no stemming the Tide; so that he was forc'd to call the Parliament, which met the 23*d* of *October* 78, who immediatly fell upon the Popish Plot and the Land Army. Besides, there were discover'd 37 Commissions granted to Papists to raise Men, countersigned *J. Will———son*; for which, and saying that the King might keep Guards if he could pay them, he was committed to the *Tower*. This so inrag'd the Parliament, that they immediatly proceded to the disbanding of the Army, and pass'd an Act that all rais'd since the 29*th* of *September* 77 should be disbanded, and gave the King 693388 pounds to pay off their Arrears, which he made use of to keep them up, and dissolv'd the Parliament; but soon after called another, which pursu'd the same Counsels, and pass'd a second Act to disband the Army, gave a new Sum for doing it, directed it to be paid into the Chamber of *London*, appointed Commissioners of their own, and pass'd a Vote, *That the continuance of any Standing Forces in this Nation other than the Militia, was illegal, and a great Grievance and Vexation to the People*; so that Army was disbanded. Besides this, they complain'd of the Forces that were in *France*, and addressed the King again to recal them, which had som Effect; for he sent over no more Recruits, but suffered them to wear out by degrees. The Establishment upon the Dissolution of this Army, which was in the year $167\frac{8}{9}$, were 5650 privat Soldiers, besides Officers. From this time he never agreed with his People, but dissolved three Parliaments following for inquiring into the Popish Plot; and in the three last years of his Reign called none at all. And to crown the Work, *Tangier* is demolished, and the Garison brought over, and placed in the most considerable Ports in *England*; which made the Establishment in $8\frac{3}{4}$ 8482 privat Men, besides Officers. It's observable in this King's Reign, that there was not one Sessions but his Guards were attack'd, and never could get the least Countenance from Parliament; but to be even with them, the Court as much discountenanced the Militia, and never would suffer it to be made useful. Thus we see the King husbanded a few Guards so well, that in a small number of years they grew to a formidable Army, notwithstanding all the endeavors of the Parliament to the contrary; so difficult it is to prevent the growing of an Evil, that dos not receive a check in the beginning.

He increas'd the Establishment in *Ireland* to 7700 Men, Officers included; whereas they never exceded in any former Reign 2000, when there was more occasion for them: the *Irish* not long before having bin intirely reduced by *Cromwel*, and could never have held up their Heads again without his Countenance. But the truth of it was, his Army was to support the *Irish*, and the fear

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of the *Irish* was to support his Army.

Towards the latter end of this King's Reign the Nation had so intirely lost all sense of Liberty, that they grew fond of their Chains; and if his Brother would have suffer'd him to have liv'd longer, or had followed his Example, by this time we had bin as great Slaves as in *France*. But it was God's great Mercy to us that he was made in another Mould, Imperious, Obstinat, and a Bigot, push'd on by the Counsels of *France* and *Rome*, and the violence of his own Nature; so that he quickly run himself out of breath. As soon as he came to the Crown, he seized the Customs and Excise without Authority of Parliament: He pick'd out the Scum and Scandals of the Law to make Judges upon the Bench; and turned out all that would not sacrifice their Oaths to his Ambition, by which he discharged the Lords out of the *Tower*, inflicted those barbarous Punishments on Dr. *Oates*, Mr. *Johnson*, &c. butchered many hundreds of Men in the *West* after they had bin trapan'd into a Confession by promise of pardon, murdered *Cornish*, got the Dispensing Power to be declared in *Westminster-Hall*, turned the Fellows of *Magdalen*-College out of their Freeholds to make way for a Seminary of Priests, and hanged Soldiers for running away from their Colors. He erected the Ecclesiastical Commission, suspended the Bishop of *London*, because he would not inflict the same Punishment upon Dr. *Sharp* for preaching against Popery. He closeted the Nobility and Gentry, turned all out of Imployment that would not promise to repeal the Test, put in Popish Privy-Counsellors, Judges, Deputy-Lieutenants, and Justices of Peace; and to get all this confirmed by the shew of Parliament, he prosecuted the Work his Brother had begun in taking away Charters, and new modeled the Corporations by a sort of Vermin called Regulators. He received a Nuntio from *Rome*, and sent an Ambassador thither. He erected a Popish Seminary at the *Savoy* to pervert Youth, suffered the Priests to go about in their Habits, made *Tyrconnel* Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, turned all the Protestants out of the Army and most of the Civil Imployments there, and made *Fitton* (a Papist, and one detected for Perjury) Chancellor of that Kingdom. He issued out a Proclamation in *Scotland*, wherin he asserted his Absolute Power, which all his Subjects were to obey without reserve; a Prerogative, I think, never claimed by the Great *Turk*, or the *Mogul*. He issued out a Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, ordered it to be read in all Churches, and imprisoned and tried the seven Bishops because they humbly offered their Reasons in a Petition against it: and to consummat all, that we might have no hopes of retrieving our Misfortunes, he imposed a counterfeit Prince of *Wales* upon the Nation.

Soon after he came to the Crown, the Duke of *Monmouth* landed, and in a few weeks got together six or seven thousand Men: but they having neither Arms or Provisions, were easily defeated by not many more than 2000 of the King's Troops. Which leaves a sad prospect of the consequence of a Standing Army: for here was a Prince, the Darling of the common People, fighting against a bigotted Papist that was hated and abhorred by them, and yet defeated by so small a number of Men, and many of them too his Friends; such is the force of Authority. King *James* took occasion from hence to increase his Army to between fifteen and sixteen thousand Men, and then unmask'd himself, called his Parliament, and in a haughty Speech told them, He had increas'd his Army, put in Officers not qualified by the Test, and that he would not part with them. He asked a Supply, and let them know he expected their compliance. This was very unexpected to those Loyal Gentlemen, who had given him such a vast Revenue for Life, who refused to take any Security but his Majesty's never-failing Word for the Protestant Religion, and indeed had don for him whatever he asked; which yet was not very extraordinary, since he had the choosing of most of them himself. But even this Parliament turn'd short upon an Army: which puts me in mind of a saying of *Macchiavel*, viz. *That it is as hard a matter for a Man to be perfectly bad as perfectly good*; tho if he had lived at this time, I believe he had changed his Opinion. The

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Court labor'd the matter very much; and to ſhew that good Wits jump, they told us that *France* was grown formidable, that the *Dutch* Forces were much increas'd, that we muſt be ſtrong in proportion for the preſervation of our ſelves and *Flanders*, and that there was no dependence upon the Militia. But this ſhallow Rhetoric would not paſs upon them. They anſwer'd, that we had defended our ſelves for above a thouſand years without an Army; that a King's trueſt Strength is the Love of his People; that they would make the Militia uſeful, and ordered a Bill to be brought in to that purpoſe. But all this ſerved only to fulfil their Iniquity; for they had don their own Buſineſs before, and now he would keep an Army up in ſpite of them: ſo he prorogu'd them, and call'd no other Parliament during his Reign; but to frighten the City of *London*, kept his Army encamped at *Hounſlow* Heath when the Seaſon would permit, which put not only them but the whole Nation into the utmoſt Terror and Confuſion. Towards the latter end of his Reign he had increaſed his Army in *England* to above twenty thouſand Men, and in *Ireland* to eight thouſand ſeven hundred and odd.

This King committed two fatal Errors in his Politicks. The firſt was his falling out with his old Chronies the Prieſts, who brought him to the Crown in ſpite of his Religion, and would have ſupported him in Arbitrary Government to the utmoſt; nay, Popery (eſpecially the worſt part of it, *viz.* the Domination of the Church) was not ſo formidable a thing to them, but with a little Cookery it might have bin rendred palatable. But he had Prieſts of another ſort that were to riſe upon their Ruins; and he thought to play an eaſier Game by careſſing the Diſſenters, imploying them, and giving them Liberty of Conſcience: which kindneſs lookt ſo prepoſterous, that the wiſe and ſober Men among them could never heartily believe it, and when the Prince of *Orange* landed, turn'd againſt him.

His ſecond Error was the diſobliging his own Army, by bringing over Regiments from *Ireland*, and ordering every Company to take in ſo many *Iriſh* Papiſts; by which they plainly ſaw he was reforming his Army, and would caſhire them all as faſt as he could get Papiſts to ſupply their room. So that he violated the Rights of the People, fell out with the Church of *England*, made uncertain Friends of the Diſſenters, and diſoblig'd his own Army; by which means they all united againſt him, and invited the Prince of *Orange* to aſſiſt them: which Invitation he accepted, and landed at *Torbay* the 5*th* of *November* 1688. publiſhing a Declaration, which ſet forth all the Oppreſſions of the laſt Reign [but the keeping up a Standing Army] declared for a free Parliament, in which things were to be ſo ſettled that there ſhould be no danger of falling again into Slavery, and promiſed to ſend back all his foren Forces as ſoon as this was don.

When the News of his Landing was ſpread thro *England*, he was welcom'd by the univerſal Acclamations of the People. He had the Hands, the Hearts, and the Prayers of all honeſt Men in the Nation: Every one thought the long wiſh'd for time of their Deliverance was com. King *James* was deſerted by his own Family, his Court, and his Army. The Ground he ſtood upon mouldred under him; ſo that he ſent his Queen and Foundling to *France* before him, and himſelf followed ſoon after. When the Prince came to *London*, he disbanded moſt of thoſe Regiments that were raiſed from the time he landed; and King *James*'s Army that were disbanded by *Feverſham*, were order'd to repair all again to their Colors: which was thought by ſom a falſe ſtep, believing it would have bin more our Intereſt to have kept thoſe Regiments which came in upon the Principle on which this Revolution is founded, than Forces that were raiſed in violation of the Laws, and to ſupport a Tyrannical Government: beſides, the miſerable Condition of *Ireland* required our ſpeedy Aſſiſtance, and theſe Men might have bin truſted to do that work.

Within a few days after he came to Town, he ſummoned the Lords, and not long after the Members of the three laſt Parliaments of King *Charles* the 2*d*, and was addreſſed to by

by both Houſes to take upon him the Adminiſtration of the Government, to take into his particular care the then preſent Condition of *Ireland*, and to iſſue forth Circulatory Letters for the chooſing a Convention of Eſtates. All this time *Ireland* lay bleeding, and *Tyrconnel* was raiſing an Army, diſarming the Proteſtants, and diſpoſſeſſing them of all the Places they held in *Leinſter*, *Munſter*, and *Connaught*: which occaſioned frequent Applications here for Relief, tho it was to ſend them but one or two Regiments; and if that could not be don, to ſend them Arms and Commiſſions, which in all probability would have made the Reduction of that Kingdom very eaſy: yet tho the Prince's and King *James* his Army were both in *England*, no Relief was ſent, by which means the *Iriſh* got poſſeſſion of the whole Kingdom but *Londonderry* and *Inniskilling*, the former of which Towns ſhut up its Gates the ninth of *December*, declaring for the Prince of *Orange*, and addreſſed for immediat Relief, yet could neither get Arms or Ammunition till the 20*th* of *March*; and the Forces that were ſent with *Cunningham* and *Richards* arrived not there till the 15*th* of *April*, and immediatly after deſerted the Service, and came back again, bringing *Lundy* the Governor before appointed by his Majeſty with them, and alledg'd for their excuſe, that it was impoſſible to defend the Town. But notwithſtanding this Treachery, ſuch was the Reſolution of the Beſieged, that they continued to defend themſelves with the utmoſt bravery, and ſent again for Relief, which under *Kirk* came not to them till the 7*th* of *June*; nor were theſe poor Creatures actually relieved till the 30*th* of *July*, tho there appears no reaſon why he might not have don it when he firſt came into the Harbor, which was more than ſeven Weeks before. Thus we ſee the Reſolution of theſe poor Men wearied out all their Diſappointments.

When the Convention met, they reſolv'd upon twenty eight Articles, as the Preliminaries upon which they would diſpoſe the Crown; but this deſign dwindled into a Declaration of our Rights, which was in thirteen Articles, and the moſt conſiderable, *viz. That the raiſing and keeping up a Standing Army in times of Peace is contrary to Law*, had tag'd to it theſe words, *without Authority of Parliament*; as if the conſent of the Parliament would not have made it legal without thoſe words, or that their Conſent would make it leſs dangerous. This made the *Jacobites* ſay in thoſe early days, that ſom evil Counſellors deſigned to play the ſame game again of a *Standing Army*, and attributed unjuſtly the neglect of *Ireland* to the ſame Cauſe, becauſe by that omiſſion it was made neceſſary to raiſe a greater Army to reduce it, with which the King acquainted the Parliament the 8*th* of *March*, when, ſpeaking of the deplorable Condition of *Ireland*, he declared he thought it not adviſable to attemt the reducing it with leſs than 20000 Horſe and Foot. This was a bitter Pill to the Parliament, who thought they might have managed their ſhare of the War with *France* at Sea; but there was no remedy, a greater Army muſt be raiſed, or *Ireland* loſt: and to gild it, all the Courtiers uſher'd in their Speeches with this Declaration, That they would be the firſt for disbanding them when the War was over; and this Declaration has bin made as often as an Army has bin debated ſince during the War, and I ſuppoſe punctually obſerved laſt Seſſions. At laſt the thing was conſented to, and the King iſſu'd forth Commiſſions for the raiſing of Horſe, Foot, and Dragoons. In this Army very few Gentlemen of Eſtates in *Ireland* could get Imployments, tho they were in a miſerable Condition here, and made their utmoſt Application for them; it being a common objection by ſom Colonels, that a Man had an Eſtate there, which in all likelihood would have made him more vigorous in reducing the Kingdom. It was long after this Army was raiſed, before they could be ready to be tranſported; and even then it was commonly ſaid that *Schomberg* found many things out of order: and when they were at laſt tranſported, which was about the middle of *Auguſt*, they were not in a condition to fight the Enemy, tho lately baffled before *Londonderry*, eſpecially their Carriages coming not to them till the 24*th* of *September*, when it was high time to go into Winter-quarters. By this means the *Iriſh* got Strength and Courage, and three

fourths of our Army periſh'd at the Camp at *Dundalk*.

But tho our Army could do nothing, yet the Militia of the Country, almoſt without Arms or Clothes, performed Miracles, witneſs that memorable Siege of *Londonderry*, the defeat of General *Mackarty*, who was intrench'd in a Bog with ten thouſand regular Troops, and attack'd by fifteen hundred *Inniskilling* Men, defeated, himſelf made a Priſoner, and three thouſand of his Men kill'd; and a great many other gallant Actions they perform'd, for which they were diſmiſs'd by *Kirk* with Scorn and Ignominy, and moſt of their Officers left to ſtarve. Thus the War in *Ireland* was nurs'd up either thro Chance, Inadvertency, or the neceſſity of our Affairs (for I am unwilling to think it was Deſign) till at laſt it was grown ſo big, that nothing leſs than his Majeſty's great Genius, and the uſual Succeſs that has always attended his Conduct, could have overcom it.

When the Parliament met that Winter, they fell upon the examination of the *Iriſh* Affairs; and finding Commiſſary *Shales* was the cauſe of a great part of the Miſcarriages, they addreſs'd his Majeſty that he would be pleaſed to acquaint the Houſe who it was that adviſed the imploying him, which his Majeſty did not remember. They then addreſſed, that he would be pleaſed to order him to be taken into Cuſtody, and it was don accordingly; upon which *Shales* ſent a Letter to the Speaker, deſiring he might be brought over to *England*, where he would vindicat himſelf, and juſtify what he had don. Then the Houſe addreſſed his Majeſty again, that he might be brought over with all convenient ſpeed; and the King was pleaſed to anſwer, that he had given ſuch Orders already. Then the Houſe refer'd the matter to a privat Committee; but before any Report made, or *Shales* could be brought to *England*, the Parliament was prorogu'd, and after diſſolv'd; and ſoon after he fell ſick and died.

The neglect of *Ireland* this year made it neceſſary to raiſe more Forces, and increaſe our Eſtabliſhment, which afterwards upon pretence of invading *France* was advanc'd to eighty ſeven thouſand ſix hundred ninety eight Men. At laſt by our great Armies and Fleets, and the conſtant expence of maintaining them, we were too hard for the Oeconomy, Skill, and Policy of *France*; and notwithſtanding all our Difficulties, brought them to Terms both ſafe and honorable.

It not being to the purpoſe of this Diſcourſe, I ſhall omit giving any account of the Conduct of our Fleet during this War, how few Advantages we reap'd by it, and how many Opportunities we loſt of deſtroying the *Freneh*. Only thus much I will obſerve, that tho a great part of it may be attributed to the Negligence, Ignorance, or Treachery of inferior Officers, yet it could not ſo univerſally happen thro the whole courſe of the War, and unpuniſh'd too, notwithſtanding the Clamors of the Merchants, and repeated Complaints in Parliament, unleſs the cauſe had laid deeper: What that is, I ſhall not preſume to inquire; but I am ſure there has bin a very ill Argument drawn from it, viz. *That a Fleet is no Security to us.*

As ſoon as the Peace was made, his Majeſty diſcharged a great part of the foren Forces; and an Advertiſement was publiſhed in the Gazet, that ten Regiments ſhould be forthwith disbanded; and we were told, as ſoon as it was don, that more ſhould follow their example. But theſe Reſolutions, it ſeems, were altered, and the modiſh Language was, that we muſt keep up a Standing Army. Their Arguments were turn'd topſy turvy: for as during the War the People were prevail'd upon to keep up the Army in hopes of a Peace; ſo now we muſt keep them up for fear of a War. The Condition of *France*, which they had bin decrying for many years, was now magnify'd: we were told, that it was doubtful whether the *French* King would deliver up any of his Towns; that he was preparing a vaſt Fleet upon the Lord knows what deſign; that it was impoſſible to make a Militia uſeful; that the warlike King *Jemmy* had an Army of eighteen thouſand *Iriſh* Heros in *France*, who would be ready when called for; and that the King of *Spain* was dying. The Members of Parliament were diſcourſed with as they came to Town; 'twas whiſper'd about, that the Whigs would be all

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turned out of Imployments: a new Plot was ſaid to be diſcovered for murdering the King, and ſearches were made at Midnight thro the whole City, to the diſcovery of plenty of Fornication, but no Traitors. The Placemongers conſulted among themſelves, and found by a wonderful Sympathy they were all of one Opinion; and if by any means they could get a few more to be of the ſame, the day was their own: ſo they were poſitive of ſucceſs, and very ſure they ſhould carry it by above a hundred Voices.

The Houſe had not ſat a week, but this matter came to be debated; and the queſtion in the Committee was, *Whether all Forces raiſed ſince the year* 80 *ſhould be disbanded?* which was carried in the Affirmative, the Court being not able to bring it to a diviſion; and the next day when it was reported, they did not attempt to ſet aſide the Vote, but to recommit it, upon pretence it tied the King to the old Tory Regiments, (tho by the way, none of thoſe Regiments have bin ſince disbanded) and ſom ſaid they thought the Forces in 80 too many. I can ſafely ſay, tho I had frequent Diſcourſe with many of them, yet I never heard any one of them at that time pretend to be for a greater force than this Vote left the King: but let what will be their reaſons, it was carried againſt them by a majority of 37, the Affirmatives being 185, and the Negatives 148. I will not here take notice of what ſom People have ſaid, *viz. That of the* 148 *who were for recommitting the Vote,* 116 *had Places*, becauſe I doubt the fact; nor do I believe their Places would biaſs them.

This was a thorow Victory, and required great Skill and Addreſs to retrieve. The fears of *France* were again multiplied: 'twas ſaid there was a privat Article that King *James* was to leave *France*, which the *French* refuſed to perform; that *Boufflers* and the Earl of *Portland* had given one another the Lie; that ſom of the latter's Retinue had bin killed: that the *French* Ambaſſador was ſtop'd, the King of *Spain* dead, and abundance more to this purpoſe. The Club was ſet up at the R——, great Applications made, the Commiſſion of the Exciſe was declared to be broke (by which nine Commiſſioners Places were to be diſpoſed of, and above 40 Perſons named for them) and many of the Country Gentlemen were gon home. Thus recruited, they were ready for a new Encounter: and ſince by the Rules of the Houſe they could not ſet aſide the former Vote directly, they would try to do it by a ſide Wind; which was by moving, that Directions might be given to the Committee of Ways and Means to conſider of a ſupply for Guards and Gariſons: but the other ſide, to obviat this, offered theſe words as an Amendment, *viz. According to the Vote of the* 11th *of* December. This matter was much labored, and the Gentlemen that were againſt the Army explain'd themſelves, and declared they were not for obliging the King to the Regiments in 80, but that they inſiſted only on the number, and he might chooſe what Regiments he pleaſed. By this means they carried it, but not without great oppoſition (tho I preſume from none of thoſe Gentlemen who declared in all Places they were for recommitting the former Vote only for the Reaſons before given) beſides, they were forced to explain themſelves out of a conſiderable part of it, for they allowed the King the *Dutch* Regiments, and the *Tangeriners*; which in my opinion could not be well underſtood by the former Vote, the meaning of which ſeems to be, that the King ſhould have all the Forces that *Charles* the 2d had in 80 in *England*, and theſe were not then here; the *Holland* Regiments being paid by the States, and their Soldiers; and the others 500 Leagues off at *Tangier*. But all this advantage would not ſatisfy the Army-Gentlemen: for in the Committee they indeavored again to ſet aſide the Vote, by moving for a ſum of 500000 pounds *per annum* for Guards and Gariſons, without naming any certain number (which would have maintained above 20000) but this could not be carried; therfore they came to a ſort of Compoſition, to have but 10000, wherof a great number were to be Horſe and Dragoons; and the Sum given to maintain them was 350000 pounds: but notwithſtanding this they moved afterwards for three thouſand Marines (alledging that theſe were not a Land-

Force, but a Water-Force) which was carried.

Here I will beg leave to obſerve one thing, that nothing would ſatisfy the Courtiers at the beginning of the Winter but to have the Forces eſtabliſh'd by the Parliament, and upon other Terms they would not accept them; and in all Companys ſaid, that any Miniſter that advis'd the King to keep them up otherwiſe, or any Officer that continued his Commiſſion ought to be attainted of High Treaſon: about which I ſhall not differ with theſe Gentlemen, nor do I arraign them for altering their opinion; for perhaps they may conceive that a Vote to give 350000 pounds for Guards and Gariſons, is a ſufficient Authority againſt Law to quarter Soldiers in all parts of *England*, as well out of Gariſons as in 'em, and as well at a diſtance from the King's Perſon, as about it.

Thus what our Courts for above a thouſand years together had never Effrontery enough to ask; what the Penſioner Parliament could not think of without aſtoniſhment; what King *James*'s Parliament (that was almoſt choſen by himſelf) could not hear debated with patience, we are likely to have the honor of eſtabliſhing in our own age, even under a Deliverance.

Now we will examin how far they have complied with the Reſolutions of the Houſe of Commons. Having ſo far gained upon the firſt Vote by the means before related, 'twas not eaſy to be imagined but they would nicely perform the reſt, without any art or evaſion; but inſtead of this, they reform'd a certain number out of every Troop and Company, and kept up all the Officers, who are the moſt eſſential and chargeable part of an Army, the privat Soldiers being to be rais'd again in a few days whenever they pleaſe. This is ſuch a disbanding as every Officer would have made in his Company for his privat advantage, and always did in *Charles* the 2d's time, and even in this Reign when they were not in action: ſo that all the effect of ſuch a Reform is to hinder the Officers from falſe Muſters, and ſave the pay of a few common Soldiers.

But this would not ſatisfy the People, and therefore they disbanded ſom Regiments of Horſe, Foot and Dragoons, and thought of that profound Expedient of ſending a great many more to *Ireland*; as if our grievance was not the fear of being enſlav'd by them, but leſt they ſhould ſpend their Mony among us. I am ſorry the Nation is grown ſo contemtible in theſe Gentlemens opinions, as to think that they can remove our fears of a Standing Army by ſending them threeſcore miles off, from whence they may recal them upon a few days notice. Nay an Army kept in *Ireland*, is more dangerous to us than at home: for here by perpetual converſe with their Relations and Acquaintance, ſom few of them perhaps may warp towards their Country; wheras in *Ireland* they are kept as it were in a Gariſon, where they are ſhut up from the communication of their Countrymen, and may be nurs'd up in another Intereſt. This is ſo true, that 'tis a common Policy among Arbitrary Princes often to ſhift their Soldiers Quarters, leſt they ſhould contract friendſhip among the Natives, and by degrees fall into their Intereſt.

It may be ſaid perhaps, That the People of *Ireland* will pay them; which makes the matter ſo much the worſe, for they are leſs likely to have any regard to their Country. Beſides, if we conſider the Lords Juſtices Speech to that Parliament, wherin they are let know that his Majeſty *EXPECTS* that they will continue the Subſiſtence to the diſbanded Officers, and ſupport the preſent Eſtabliſhment (which by the way is near three times as great as *Charles* the 2d's) and this without any other ceremony or qualification of Time (with which his Majeſty was pleas'd to expreſs himſelf to his *Engliſh* and *Scotch* Parliaments) we may be convinc'd that they are not in a condition to diſpute this matter; eſpecially at a time when they apprehend Hardſhips will be put upon them in relation to their Trade: and therfore we may be ſure they will gratify the Court to the utmoſt of their Power, in hopes, if they can't prevent the paſſing a Law againſt them, to obtain a connivance in the execution. We may add; by this means they will keep their Mony in their own Country, a great part whereof came formerly to *England*, and have an opportunity of returning the Complement

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we design'd them last Year, if we don't prevent it by disbanding the Army there, as *Strafford*'s Army in *Ireland* was formerly in the 15*th* of *Charles* the first, and lately another in 78 by our *English* Parliaments.

I can't avoid taking notice here, how different the modish Sentiments are in *Ireland* and *England*: for there the Language is, We must comply with the Court in keeping up the Army, or otherwise the Woollen Manufacture is gon; and here the Men in fashion tell us, that an Army must be kept in *Ireland* to destroy the Woollen Manufacture, and execute the Laws we make against them; and in order to it the People of *Ireland* are to pay them.

This project of sending Men to *Ireland* was so transparent, that they durst not rely upon it; and therfore they told us, that as fast as Mony could be got, they would disband more Regiments. The People were in great expectation when it would be don, and several times it was taken notice of in Parliament; and the Courtiers always assur'd them that nothing hindred it but the want of Mony to pay them off. 'Twas confidently said in all publick places, that eighteen Regiments more would be disbanded, and the Regiments were nam'd; and I have heard it with great Assurance affirm'd by the Agents and Officers themselves, that the King had sign'd it in Council. Thus the Session was worn out, till the House of Commons tir'd with Expectation, address'd his Majesty, *That he would be pleas'd to give order that a List be laid before the House of the Army disbanded, and intended to be disbanded, and of the Officers Names who are to have half pay*; and his Majesty was pleas'd to answer, *That he would comply with the desires of the House as soon as conveniently he could*: but the Parliament sitting not above a Month afterwards, his Majesty sent them no further Answer.

At last the Parliament rose, and instead of disbanding they brought over a great many foren Regiments, and sent them to *Ireland*, as well as three more *English* ones. But even all this would not bring their Army in *England* down to ten thousand Men; so that they made another Reform, and since have incorporated the Officers of the disbanded Regiments in *Ireland* into the Standing Troops, by which means they have got an Army of Officers: whereas if these Gentlemen design their Army to defend us against a sudden Invasion, or to be in readiness against the King of *Spain*'s Death, in my poor opinion they should have kept up the privat Soldiers, and disbanded all the Officers but such as are just necessary to exercise them; for Officers will be always ready to accept good Imployments, whereas the privat Soldiers will be very difficultly listed again in a new War, tho we all know they are easily to be got together when they are only to insult their Countrymen.

One good effect of this Army has already appear'd; for I presume every body has heard how prevailing an Argument it was in the late Elections, *That if we choose such a Man, we shall be free from Quarters*: and I wish this Argument dos not every day grow stronger. Nay, who knows but in another Reign the Corporations may be told that his Majesty *expects* they will choose the Officers of the Army, and the Parliament be told that he *expects* they will maintain them?

But to set this matter in a full view, I will here put down the Establishment of King *Charles* the *Second* in 88, which was the foundation of the Vote of the 11*th* of *December*, as also his present Majesty's: and in this, as well as my other Computations, I do not pretend but I may be mistaken in many Particulars, tho I have taken what care I could not to be so; nor is it material to my purpose, so the variation from Truth is not considerable.

I shall also set down King *William*'s Establishment as the Regiments were before the Reform, because all the Officers still remain, and a great part of the privat Soldiers, which I take to be in effect full Regiments; the rest being to be rais'd again in a few days, if they are design'd for home Service, but, as I said before, the hardest to be got if they are designed for *Spain* or *Flanders*. But herein if any Man differs from me, he may make his own deductions.

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The Eſtabliſhment of Charles *the* 2d *in* England *in the Year Eighty.*

Horſe and Dragoons in England.	*Troops and Companies.*	*Commiſ. Officers.*	*Non-Commiſ. Officers.*	*Private Men.*	*Total Number.*
Troops of Guards	3	48	15	600	663
The Royal Regiment of Horſe	8	34	40	400	474
A Troop of Dragoons raiſed in *July*, 1680.	1	4	8	40	52
Total Horſe and Dragoons	12	86	63	1040	1189
Foot in England.					
Gentlemen Penſioners	1	6	0	40	46
Yeomen of the Guard	1	7	0	100	107
The firſt Regiment of Foot-Guards	24	75	192	1440	1707
The *Coldſtream* Regiment	12	39	96	720	855
The Duke of *York*'s Regiment	12	39	96	630	765
The *Holland* Regiment	12	39	96	600	735
Independent Companies	26	78	208	1260	1546
Total Foot in *England*	88	283	688	4790	5761

King Charles *the* Second's *Eſtabliſhment in* Ireland *in the Year Eighty.*

Troops of Horſe	24	96	196	1080	1372
His Foot in Ireland.					
Yeomen of the Guard	1	3	0	60	63
A Regiment of Guards	12	40	99	1120	1259
Single Companies	74	222	444	4440	5166
Total Foot in *Ireland*	87	265	543	5620	6428

I have not here put down the Garison of *Tangier*, which was about three thousand Men, because that place is now lost, and consequently wants no Garison.

I will now set down his present Majesty's Establishment, and then compare them both together.

Horse and Dragoons upon the English *Establishment.*	*Troops and Companies.*	*Commis. Officers.*	*Non-Commis. Officers.*	*Private Men.*	*Total Number.*
Three Troops of Horse Guards	3	48	15	600	663
One Troop of Dutch Guards	1	15	5	200	220
One Troop of Horse Granadiers	1	11	20	180	211
Lord *Oxford*'s Regiment	9	40	45	531	616
Lord *Portland*'s Horse Dutch Regiment	9	42	54	603	699
Lumley's Regiment	9	40	45	531	616
Wood's	6	28	36	354	412
Arran's	6	28	36	354	412
Windham's	6	28	36	354	412
Schomberg's	6	28	36	354	412
Macclesfield's	6	28	36	354	412
Raby's Dragoons	8	37	72	480	589
Flood's Dragoons	8	37	72	480	589
Lord *Essex*'s Dragoons	8	37	72	480	589
Total Horse and Dragoons in *England*	86	447	580	5855	6876
Foot on the English Establishment.					
Gentlemen Pensioners	1	6	0	40	46
Yeomen of the Guard	1	7	0	100	107
Lord *Rumney*'s four Battalions	28	99	222	2240	2563
Lord *Cutt*'s two Battalions	14	51	112	1120	1283
The blew Guards a Dutch Regiment, four Battalions	26	96	208	2366	2670
Earl of *Orkney*'s a Scotch Regiment	26	88	208	1560	1656
Selwin's	13	44	104	780	928
Churchil's	13	44	104	780	928
Trelawny's	13	44	104	780	928
Earle's	13	44	104	780	928
Seymour's	13	44	104	780	928
Colt's	13	44	104	780	928
Mordant's	13	44	104	780	928
Sir *David Collier*'s	13	44	104	780	928
Sir *Charles Hero*'s Fusileers in *Jersey*	13	46	104	780	930

Colling-

	Troops and Companies.	Commission Officers	Non-Commiss. Officers.	Private Men.	Total Number.
Collingwood's	13	46	104	780	928
A Company at *Upnor* Castle	1	2	6	50	58
Total Foot in *England*	227	793	1796	15276	17865

Horse and Dragoons upon the *Irish* Establishment.

Luson's	6	42	30	354	412
Langston's	6	42	30	354	412
Lord *Gallaway's* a *French* Regiment	9	113	45	531	689
Ross's Dragoons	8	37	72	480	589
Ecklin's	8	37	72	480	589
Cunningham's	8	37	72	480	589
Mermon's a *French* Regiment	8	74	144	480	698
Total Horse and Dragoons in *Ireland*	53	338	465	3159	3962

Foot upon the *Irish* Establishment, with the disbanded Officers incorporated.

Fairfax's	13	66	104	780	950
Collumbine's	13	66	104	780	950
Webb's	13	66	104	780	950
Granvill's	13	66	104	780	950
Brewer's	13	66	104	780	950
Jacob's	13	66	104	780	950
How's	13	66	104	780	950
Steward's	13	66	104	780	950
Hanmore's	13	66	104	780	950
Titcomb's	13	66	104	780	950
Stanley's	13	66	104	780	950
Bridges's	13	66	104	780	950
Fr. Hamilton's	13	66	104	780	950
Ingoldsby's	13	66	104	780	950
Pisar's	13	66	104	780	950
Bellasis's	13	66	104	780	950
Gustavus Hamilton's	13	66	104	780	950
Tiffany's	13	66	104	780	950
Martoon's a *French* Regiment	13	83	104	780	967

Lamel-

	Troops and Companies.	Commission Officers	Non-Commiss. Officers.	Private Men.	Total Number.
Lamellioneer's a *French* Regiment	13	83	104	780	967
Belcastle's a *French* Regiment	13	83	104	780	967
Holt's Regiment in the *West-Indies* which is not upon the *Irish* Establishment	13	44	104	780	928
Total Foot in *Ireland*	286	1481	2288	17160	20929

I will now compare both Establishments together.

Charles the 2d's Horse in Eighty in *England*	12	86	63	1040	1189
His Foot in *England*	88	283	688	4790	5761
His Horse and Foot in *England*	100	369	751	5830	6950

His Establishment in Ireland.

His Horse in *Ireland*	24	96	196	1080	1372
His Foot in *Ireland*	87	265	543	5620	6428
His Horse and Foot in *Ireland*	111	361	739	6700	7800

All his Army in England *and* Ireland.

His Horse in *England* and *Ireland*	36	182	259	2120	2561
His Foot in *England* and *Ireland*	175	548	1231	10410	12189
All his Army in *England* and *Ireland*	211	730	1490	12530	14750

King William's *Establishment.*

His Horse in *England*	86	441	580	5855	6876
His Foot in *England*	227	793	1796	15276	17865
All his Forces in *England*	313	1234	2376	21131	24741

His Establishment in Ireland.

His Horse in *Ireland*	53	338	465	3159	3962
His Foot in *Ireland*	286	1481	2288	17160	20929
All his Forces in *Ireland*	339	1819	2753	20319	24891

All his Army in England *and* Ireland.	*Troops and Companies.*	*Commission Officers*	*Non-Commiſ. Officers.*	*Private Men.*	*Total Number.*
His Horſe and Dragoons in *England* and *Ireland*	139	779	1045	9014	10838
His Foot in *England* and *Ireland*	513	2274	4084	32436	38794
All his Army in *England* and *Ireland*	652	3053	5129	41450	49632

So that his preſent Majeſty in *England* and *Ireland* alone has above three times as many Troops and Companies as *Charles* the Second had in the year eighty, almoſt five times as many Commiſſion Officers, near four times as many Non-Commiſſion Officers; and when the Commanders ſhall have Orders to recruit their Companies, will have more than three times the number of common Soldiers, beſides the disbanded Officers which are not incorporated into other Regiments; and upon the Eſtabliſhment they now ſtand, are as much Creatures to the Court, as if their Regiments were in being.

His Majeſty's Forces in Scotland, *which in the Year Eighty conſiſted of* 2806 *Men.*

The Troop of Guards	1	15	5	120	140
The Royal Regiment of Dragoons	8	37	72	320	429
Jedborough's Dragoons	6	17	54	240	321
The Royal Regiment of Foot Guards	16	51	128	912	1091
Rew's Fuſileers	16	51	128	640	819
Collier or *Hamilton*'s	16	51	128	640	819
Maitland's	16	51	128	640	819
In Gariſons	4	12	24	295	331
All his Forces in *Scotland*	83	295	667	3807	4769

Theſe Forces are as they are now reduc'd and allow'd by the Parliament of *Scotland*, for Reaſons beſt known to themſelves, which without doubt muſt be very good ones: and 'tis commonly ſaid, that ten Privy Counſellors of that Kingdom, who appear'd againſt the Army, are turn'd out of the Council; which, if true, I preſume will be a ſufficient warning to our Gentlemen at home.

However, there is this uſe in the *Scotch* Army, that if the Parliament of *England* ſhall be prevail'd on to think any Forces neceſſary, a leſſer Number will be ſufficient.

His

His Majesty's Forces in Holland.	Troops and Companies.	Commission Officers.	Non-Commiss. Officers.	Private Men.	Total Number.
Lawder's	13	44	104	780	928
William Collins	13	44	104	780	928
Murray's	13	44	104	780	928
Ferguson's	13	44	104	780	928
Stramavi's	13	44	104	780	928
[illegible]	13	44	104	780	928
All the Forces in *Holland*	78	264	624	4680	5568
☞ SO that his Majesty's whole Army consists of [illegible]	813	3612	6420	49937	59969

Of these seven thousand, eight hundred, and seventy seven are Foreigners, which is the first foreign Army that ever set foot in *England* but as Enemies.

Since the writing of this I am informed, that *Brudenall*'s Regiment is in being, and that *Eppinger*'s Dragoons are in *English* Pay; which if true, will make the whole Army sixty odd thousand Men: but in this as well as many other parts of the List I may be mistaken, for which I hope I shall be excused, when I acquaint the Reader that I was forced to pick it out from accidental Discourses with Officers, having apply'd to my Lord *R*——'s Office without Success, tho I made such Interest for it as upon another occasion would not have bin refused.

If the Prince of *Orange* in his Declaration, instead of telling us that we should be settled upon such a foundation that there should be no danger of our falling again into Slavery, and that he would send back all his Forces as soon as that was done, had promis'd us that after an eight years War (which should leave us in Debt near twenty Millions) we should have a Standing Army established, a great many of which should be Foreigners, I believe few Men would have thought such a Revolution worth the hazard of their Lives and Estates: but his mighty Soul was above such abject thoughts as these; his Declaration was his own, these paltry Designs are our Undertakers, who would shelter their own Oppressions under his Sacred Name.

I would willingly know whether the late King *James* could have inslaved us but by an Army, and whether there is any way of securing us from falling again into Slavery but by disbanding them. It was in that sense I understood his Majesty's Declaration, and therfore did early take up Arms for him, as I shall be always ready to do. It was this alone which made his assistance necessary to us, otherwise we had wanted none but the Hangman's.

I will venture to say, that if this Army dos not make us Slaves, we are the only People upon Earth in such Circumstances that ever escap'd it with the 4*th* part of their number. It is a greater force than *Alexander* conquer'd the East with, than *Cæsar* had in his Conquest of *Gaul*, or indeed the whole *Roman* Empire; double the number that any of our Ancestors ever invaded *France* with, *Agesilaus* the *Persians*, or *Huniades* and *Scanderbeg* the *Turkish* Empire; as many again as was in any Battel between the *Dutch* and *Spaniards* in forty years War, or betwixt the King and Parliament in *England*; four times as many as the Prince of *Orange* landed with

in *England*; and in ſhort, as many as have bin on both ſides in nine Battels of ten that were ever fought in the World. If this Army dos not inſlave us, it is barely becauſe we have a virtuous Prince that will not attemt it; and 'tis a moſt miſerable thing to have no other Security for our Liberty, than the Will of a Man, tho the moſt juſt Man living: for that is not a free Government where there is a good Prince (for even the moſt arbitrary Governments have had ſomtimes a Relaxation of their Miſeries) but where it is ſo conſtituted, that no one can be a Tyrant if we would. *Cicero* ſays, tho a Maſter dos not tyrannize, yet 'tis a lamentable conſideration that it is in his power to do ſo; and therfore ſuch a Power is to be truſted to none, which if it dos not find a Tyrant, commonly makes one; and if not him, to be ſure a Succeſſor.

If any one during the Reign of *Charles* the Second, when thoſe that were called *Whigs*, with a noble Spirit of Liberty, both in the Parliament Houſe and in private Companies, oppoſed a few Guards as Badges of Tyranny, a Deſtruction to our Conſtitution, and the Foundations of a Standing Army: I ſay, if any ſhould have told them that a Deliverer ſhould com and reſcue them from the Oppreſſions under which they then labored; that *France* by a tedious and conſumtive War ſhould be reduced to half the Power it then had; and even at that time they ſhould not only be paſſive, but uſe their utmoſt Intereſt, and diſtort their Reaſon to find out Arguments for keeping up ſo vaſt an Army, and make the Abuſes of which they had bin all their lives complaining, Precedents to juſtify thoſe Procedings; whoever would have told them this, muſt have bin very regardleſs of his Reputation, and bin thought to have had a great deal of ill nature. But the truth is, we have lived in an age of Miracles, and there is nothing ſo extravagant that we may not expect to ſee, when ſurly Patriots grow ſervil Flatterers, old Commonwealthſmen declare for the Prerogative, and Admirals againſt the Fleet.

But I wonder what Arguments in nature our Hirelings will think of for keeping up an Army this year. Good Reaſons lie within a narrow Compaſs, and might be gueſſed at; but Nonſenſe is infinit. The Arguments they chiefly inſiſted upon laſt year were, That it was uncertain whether the *French* King would deliver up any of his Towns if we disbanded our Army; that King *James* had 18000 Men at his devotion kept by the King of *France*; that a great Fleet was preparing there upon ſom unknown Deſign; that the King of *Spain* was dying; that there was no Militia ſettled; and that they would keep them up only for a year to ſee how the World went. This with a few Lies about my Lord *Portland*'s and *Boufflers*'s quarrelling, and ſom Prophecies of our being invaded in ſix months, was the ſubſtance of what was ſaid or printed.

Now in fact the *French* King has delivered up *Giron*, *Roſes*, *Belver*, *Barcelona*, and a great part of the Province of *Catalonia*: The Town and Province of *Luxemburg*, and the County of *Chiny*; the Towns of *Mons*, *Charleroy*, *Courtray*, and *Aeth* in the *Spaniſh* Provinces, to the King of *Spain*.

The Town of *Dinant* to the Biſhop of *Leige*.

The Towns of *Pignerol*, *Cazal*, *Suſa*, *Montmelian*, *Nice*, *Villa Franca*, all *Savoy*, and part of *Piemont* to the Duke of *Savoy*.

The Cities of *Treves*, *Germenſheim*, and the Palatinat; the County of *Spanheim*, *Veldentz*, and Dutchy of *Deuxponts*; the County of *Mombelliand*, and ſom Poſſeſſions of *Burgundy*; the Forts of *Kiel*, *Friburg*, *St. Peterfort*, *Deſtoile*; the Town of *Philipsburg*, and moſt of *Alſace*, *Eberenburg*, and the Dutchy of *Lorrain* to the Empire: has demoliſhed *Hunningen*, *Montroyal* and *Kernburg*.

He has delivered up the Principality of *Orange* to the King of *England*.

Theſe are vaſt Countries, and contain in bigneſs as much ground as the Kingdom of *England*, and maintained the King of *France* above 100000 Men; beſides, he had laid out vaſt Sums in the Fortifications he delivered up and demoliſhed. Add to this, his Kingdom is miſerably impoveriſhed and depopulated by this War; his Manufactures much impaired; great numbers of Offices have bin erected, which like Leeches draw away the Peoples Blood; prodigious Debts con-

contracted, and a moſt beneficial Trade with *England* loſt. Theſe things being conſidered, there can be little danger of their ſhewing overmuch wantonneſs, eſpecially for ſom years: and yet ſtill we muſt be bullied by the name of *France*, and the fear of it muſt do what their Power could never yet effect: which is a little too groſs, conſidering they were inſlaved by the ſame means. For in *Lewis* the 11*th*'s time, the *French* gave up their Liberties for fear of *England*, and now we muſt give up ours for fear of *France*.

Secondly, Moſt of King *James*'s *Engliſh* and *Iriſh* Forces which we have bin ſo often threatned with, are disbanded; and he is ſaid to ſubſiſt upon his Majeſty's Charity, which will be a ſufficient Caution for his good behaviour.

Thirdly, The *French* Fleet, which was another Bugbear, exceded not this year 20 Sail, nor attemted any thing, tho we had no Fleet out to oppoſe them.

Fourthly, The King of *Spain* is not dead, nor in a more dangerous condition than he has bin for ſom years; and we are not without hopes that his Majeſty by his extraordinary Prudence has taken ſuch care as to prevent a new War in caſe he ſhould die.

Fifthly, As to the Militia, I ſuppoſe every Man is now ſatisfied that we muſt never expect to ſee it made uſeful till we have disbanded the Army. I would not be here underſtood to throw the whole odium of that matter upon the Court; for there are ſeveral other Parties in *England*, that are not over-zealous for a Militia. Firſt, thoſe who are for reſtoring King *James*'s Trumpery, and would have the Army disbanded, and no Force ſettled in the room of it. Next, there are a mungrel ſort of Men who are not direct Enemies to the King; yet becauſe their fancied Merit is not rewarded at their own price, they are ſo ſhagreen that they will not let him have the Reputation of ſo noble an Eſtabliſhment. Beſides theſe, there are others that having no notion of any Militia but our own, and being utterly unacquainted with antient and modern Hiſtory, think it impracticable: and ſom wretched things are againſt it becauſe of the Charge; wheras if their Mothers had taught them to caſt account, they would have found out that 52000 Men for a month will be but the ſame charge to the Subject as four thouſand for a year, ſuppoſing the pay to be the ſame; and reckoning it to be a third part greater, it will be equivalent to the charge of 6000: and if we ſhould allow them to be out a fortnight longer than was deſigned by the laſt Bill for exerciſing in leſſer Bodies, then the utmoſt Charge of ſuch a Militia will be no more than to keep up 9000 Men the year round. None of the Parties I mentioned will openly oppoſe a Militia, tho they would be all glad to drop it: and I believe no body will be ſo hardy as to deny, but if the Court would ſhew as much vigor in proſecuting it, as they did laſt year to keep up a Standing Army, that a Bill would paſs; which they will certainly do if we disband the Army, and they think it neceſſary; and if they do not, we have no reaſon to think an Army ſo. When they tell us we may be invaded in the mean time, they are not in earneſt; for we all know if the King of *France* has any deſigns, they look another way: beſides, he has provided no Tranſports, nor is in any readineſs to make an Invaſion: and if he was, we have a Fleet to hinder him; nay, even the Militia we have in *London* and ſom other Counties, are moderatly exercis'd: and I believe thoſe who ſpeak moſt contemtibly of them will allow 'em to have natural Courage, and as good Limbs as other People; and if they will allow nothing elſe, then here is an Army of a hundred or ſixſcore thouſand Men, ready liſted, regimented, horſed and armed: and if there ſhould be any occaſion, his Majeſty can put what Officers he pleaſes of the old Army over them, and the Parliament will be ſitting to give him what Powers ſhall be neceſſary. We may add to this, that the disbanded Soldiers in all probability will be part of this body; and then what fear can there be of a ſcambling Invaſion of a few Men?

I have avoided in this place diſcourſing of the nature of Militias, that Subject having bin ſo fully handled already; only thus much I will obſerve, that a Standing Army in Peace will

will grow more effeminat by living dissolutely in Quarters, than a Militia that for the most part will be exercised with hard labor. So that upon the whole matter, a Standing Army in Peace will be worse than a Militia; and in War a Militia will soon becom a disciplin'd Army.

Sixthly, The Army has bin kept up for a Year, which is all was pretended to; and notwithstanding their Prophecies, we have had no Invasion, nor danger of one.

Lastly, The Earl of *Portland* and Marshal *Boufflers* were so far from quarrelling, that perhaps no *English* Ambassador was ever received in *France* with more Honor.

But further, there is a Crisis in all Affairs, which when once lost, is never to be retrieved. Several Accidents concur to make the disbanding the Army practicable now, which may not happen again. We have a new Parliament, uncorrupted by the Intrigues of the Courtiers: besides, the Soldiers themselves hitherto have known little but the Fatigues of a War, and have bin so paid since, that the privat Men would be glad to be disbanded; and the Officers would not be very uneasy at it, considering they are to have half Pay, which we must not expect from them hereafter when they have lived in Riot and Luxury. Add to this, we have a good Prince, whose Inclinations as well as Circumstances will oblige him to comply with the reasonable Desires of his People. But let us not flatter our selves, this will not be always so. If the Army should be continued a few years, they will be accounted part of the Prerogative, and 'twill be thought as great a violation to attemt the disbanding them, as the Guards in *Charles* the Second's time; it shall be interpreted a design to dethrone the King, and be made an Argument for the keeping them up.

But there are other Reasons yet: The publick Necessities call upon us to contract our charge, that we may be the sooner out of debt, and in a condition to make a new War; and 'tis not the keeping great Armies on foot that will inable us to do so, but putting our selves in a capacity to pay them. We have had the experience of this in eight years War; for we have not bin successful against *France* in one Battel, and yet we have weighed it down by mere natural Strength, as I have seen a heavy Country Booby sometimes do a nimble Wrestler: and by the same Method (not our Policy, Oeconomy, or Conduct) we must encounter them hereafter, and in order to it should put our selves in such Circumstances, that our Enemies may dread a new Quarrel, which can be no otherwise don, but by lessening our Expences, and paying off the public Ingagements as fast as we are able. 'Tis a miserable thing to consider that we pay near 4000000 *l.* a year upon the account of Funds, no part wherof can be applied to the public Service, unless they design to shut up the *Exchequer*; which would not be very prudent to own. I would therfore ask som of our Men of Management; Suppose there should be a new War, how they propose to maintain it? For we all now know the end of our Line, we have nothing left but a Land-Tax, a Poll, and som few Excises, if the Parliament can be prevailed upon to consent to them. And for once I will suppose, that all together, with what will fall in a Twelvemonth, will amount to 3000000 *l.* and a half, which is not probable; and we will complement them, by supposing they shall not in case of a new War give above fourteen or fifteen *per cent.* for Premiums and Interest, then the Remainder will be 3000000 *l.* I believe I may venture to say, they will not be very fond of lessening the Civil List, and lose their Salaries and Pensions. Then if we deduct 700000 pounds *per annum*, upon that account there will be 2300000 pounds *per annum* for the use of the War, if the People pay the utmost penny they are able: so that the Question will not be as in the last War, how we shall carry it on against *France* at large, but how 2300000 pounds shall be disposed to the greatest advantage; which I presume every one will believe ought to be in a good Fleet.

This leads me to consider what will be the best, if not the only way of managing a new War in case of the King of *Spain*'s Death, and a new Rupture with *France*; and I will suppose the Nation to be as perfectly free from

from all incumbrances as before the War. Moſt Men at this time of day, I believe, will agree with me that 'tis not our buſineſs to throw Squibs in *Flanders*, ſend out vaſt Sums of Mony to have our Men play at bopeep with the *French*, and at beſt to have their brains beat out againſt ſtone Walls: but if a War is neceſſary there, 'tis our Intereſt to let the *Dutch* and *Germans* manage it, which is proper for their Situation, and let our Province be to undertake the Sea; yet if we have not wit and honeſty enough to make ſuch a bargain with them, but that we bring our ſelves again to a neceſſity of maintaining Armies there, we may hire Men from *Germany* for half the price we can raiſe them here, and they will be ſooner ready than they can be tranſported from hence, that Country being full of Men, all Soldiers inured to Fatigue, and ſerving for much leſs pay than we give our own: beſides, we ſhall carry on the War at the expence of others blood, and ſave our own People, which are the ſtrength and riches of all Governments; we ſhall ſave the charge of providing for the Officers when the War is don, and not meet with ſuch difficulties in disbanding them.

There are ſom Gentlemen that have ſtarted a new method of making War with *France*, and tell us it will be neceſſary to ſend Forces to *Spain* to hinder the *French* from poſſeſſing that Country; and therfore we muſt keep them up here to be ready for that ſervice: which by the way is acknowledging the Horſe ought to be disbanded, ſince I preſume they don't deſign to ſend them to *Spain*. But to give this a full Anſwer, I believe it is every ones opinion that there ought to be a ſtrong Fleet kept up at *Cales*, or in the *Mediterranean*, ſuperior to the *French*; and then 'twill be eaſier and cheaper to bring the Emperor's Forces by the way of *Final* to *Spain*, than to ſend Men from hence: and they are more likely to be acceptable there, being of the ſame Religion, and Subjects to the Houſe of *Auſtria*; whereas 'tis to be feared our Men would be in as much danger from that bigotted Nation as from the *French*: beſides, the King of *Portugal* is arming for his own defence, and a ſum of Mony well diſpoſed there, will enable him to raiſe double the Forces upon the ſpot as can be ſent from hence with the ſame charge.

But for once I will admit it neceſſary we ſhould ſend Forces both to *Flanders* and *Spain*; yet 'tis no conſequence that we muſt keep up a Standing Army in *England* till that time coms. We may remember *Charles* the 2d rais'd between 20 and 30000 Men to fight againſt *France* in leſs than forty days; and the Regiments this King raiſed the firſt year of his Reign were compleated in a very ſhort time: for my own part I am opinion, that a new Army may be raiſed, before Ships and Proviſions will be ready for their tranſportation, at leaſt if the management is no better than 'twas once upon a time; and perhaps it may happen that the King of *Spain* will not die in the ſummer time, and then we ſhall have the winter before us. We may add to this, that the King of *France* has disbanded a great many Men, that his Country now lies open in a great many places; that the *Germans* and *Dutch* keep great numbers of Men in conſtant pay; and in all probability there will be a Peace with the *Turks*: That *Portugal* and the *Italian* Princes muſt enter into the Confederacy in their own defence; and that the *French* will lie under an equal neceſſity to raiſe Forces with a much leſs Country than in the former War, to oppoſe ſuch a mighty Union of Princes, who will attack him upon the firſt attemt he makes upon *Spain*.

And after all, what's the mighty Advantage we propoſe by keeping this Force? Why forſooth, having a ſmall number of Men more (for the Officers will always be ready, and now a great part of the private Soldiers are to be rais'd in caſe of a new War) ready ſix Weeks ſooner to attack *France*. And I durſt almoſt appeal to theſe Gentlemen themſelves, whether ſo ſmall a Balance againſt *France* is equivalent to the hazard of our Liberties, deſtruction of our Conſtitution, and the conſtant Expence of keeping them up, to expect when the King of *Spain* will be pleaſed to die.

If theſe Gentlemen are really afraid of a new War, and don't uſe it as a Bugbear to fright us out of our Liberties, and to gain their little party-Ends, the way to bring the

People

People into it heartily, is to ſhew them that all their Actions tend to the public Advantage, to leſſen the National Expences, to manage the Revenue with the greateſt frugality, to poſtpone part of their own Salaries, and not grow rich while their Country grows poor, to give their hearty Aſſiſtance for appropriating the *Iriſh* Lands gain'd by the Peoples Blood and Sweat to the public Service, as was promis'd by his Majeſty, and not to ſhew an unhappy Wit in puniſhing ſom Men, and excuſing others for the ſame fault, and ſpend three Months in Intrigues how to keep up a Standing Army to the dread of the greateſt part of the Nation: for let them fancy what they pleaſe, the People will never conſent to the raiſing a new Army till they are ſatisfied they ſhall be rid of them when the War is don; and there is no way of convincing them of that, but by disbanding theſe with willingneſs. When we ſee this don, we ſhall believe they are in earneſt, and the People will join unanimouſly in a new War; otherwiſe there will always be a conſiderable part of the Nation (whatever perſonal Honor they have for his Majeſty, or fears of *France*) that will lie upon the Wheels with all their weight, and do them more harm than their Army will do them good.

To conclude, we have a wiſe and virtuous Prince, who has always indeavour'd to pleaſe his People by taking thoſe Men into his Councils which they have recommended to him by their own Choice; and when their Intereſt has declin'd, he has gratified the Nation by turning them out. I would therfore give this ſeaſonable advice to thoſe who were once call'd Whigs, that the way to preſerve their Intereſt with his Majeſty is to keep it with the People; that their old Friends will not deſert them till they deſert their Country, which when they do, they will be left to their own proper Merits: and tho I am not much given to believing Prophecys, yet I dare be a Prophet for once, and foretel that then they will meet with the fate of King *Phys.* and King *Uſh.* in the Rehearſal, *Their new Maſters will turn them off, and no body elſe will take them.*

THE END.

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